

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

CAMP SECURITY TO BILATERAL AID. DAS BUSHNELL REVIEWED AREAS OF KEY CONCERN, AND A/S MOOSE OUTLINED THE ELEMENTS OF A STRATEGY FOR DEALING WITH THE CAMP SECURITY PROBLEM. KAGAME STRESSED THE NEED TO PRIORITIZE: FIRST, TAKE BACK CONTROL OF THE CAMPS, THEN IDENTIFY AND BRING TO JUSTICE THE CRIMINAL LEADERS, THEN CONSIDER HOW TO HANDLE THE LESS CULPABLE GROUP THAT WAS INCITED TO VIOLENCE. A/S MOOSE EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT UNCERTAINTY OVER THE GOR'S PLANS FOR METING OUT JUSTICE WOULD NEGATIVELY AFFECT RECONCILIATION, [REDACTED]

1.4(B), 1.4(D)

[REDACTED] KAGAME SAID SECURITY WITHIN RWANDA WAS IMPROVING, BUT THE GOR STILL NEEDED URGENT ASSISTANCE FOR ITS JUDICIAL SYSTEM. A/S MOOSE ASSURED THAT WE WOULD HELP. ON LAND TENURE, KAGAME SAID LOCAL ADMINISTRATORS WERE RESOLVING DISPUTES ON A CASE-BY-CASE

BASIS, WITH DIFFICULT CASES BEING REFERRED TO A NATIONAL COMMISSION. A/S MOOSE AND DAS BUSHNELL STRESSED THE NEED TO PUT IN PLACE STRUCTURES THAT WOULD CORRECT ANY MISPERCEPTION OF MINORITY CONTROL IN THE GOVERNMENT. [REDACTED]

1.4(D)

END

SUMMARY

3. RWANDAN VICE PRESIDEN AND DEFENSE MINISTER PAUL KAGAME VISITED WASHINGTON FROM DECEMBER 9-14 AT THE INVITATION OF THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT. IN HIS MEETING WITH AF, HE WAS ACCOMPANIED BY NEALTH MINISTER JOSEPH KAREMERA, PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT CHARLES MURIGANDE, RWANDAN CHARGE JOSEPH MUTABOBA, AND AN AIDE. A/S MOOSE AND DAS BUSHNELL

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 334575 170052Z
WERE JOINED BY OSD VINCE KERN AND RWANDA DESKOFF AISTON.
(KAGAME'S OTHER MEETINGS ARE REPORTED SEPTTEL.)

-----"
USG WILL HELP; AREAS OF COMMON CONCERN

4. A/S MOOSE SAID WE MUST SEIZE THE OPPORTUNITY TO CHANGE THE DYNAMIC AND PUT AN END TO THE CYCLE OF VIOLENCE THAT HAS PLAGUED RWANDA AND THE SUBREGION. THE USG HAS

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

ORGANIZED A FRIENDS GROUP TO BOLSTER THE INTERNATIONAL EFFORT IN SEVERAL KEY AREAS' SUCH AS CAMP SECURITY, REGIONAL REFUGEE ISSUES, THE TRIBUNAL, HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS, ASSISTANCE TO THE GOR, AND BURUNDI. HE NOTED THAT WORLD BANK DIRECTOR FOR SOUTH CENTRAL AFRICA AND HE INDIAN OCEAN FRANCISCO AGUIRRE-SACASA HAD CALLED TO REITERATE THE BANK'S FULL COMMITMENT TO ASSISTING THE GOR, INCLUDING DOLLARS 50 MILLION IN BUDGETSUPPORT IN 1995. THE BANK HAS RECEIVED PLEDGES FOR NEARLY ALL OF HE DOLLARS 9.5 MILLION IN ARREARS AND WILL NOT HOLD UP THE CREDIT WAITING FOR THE SMALL AMOUNT REMAINING. THEY WILL, HOWEVER, NEED BOARD APPROVAL IN JANUARY. A/S MOOSE TOLD KAGAME THAT SACASA WOULD VERY MUCH LIKE TO MEET WITH HIM BEFORE HE LEFT WASHINGTON, AND A/S MOOSE STRONGLY ENCOURAGED THE MEETING. (FYI: SCHEDULING PROBLEMS HAD CAUSED THE RWANDAN DELEGATION TO CANCEL A TENTATIVE WORLD BANK MEETING SET FOR EARLIER THAT DAY.)

5. DAS BUSHNELL OUTLINED THE FOLLOWING MAIN AREAS OF COMMON CONCERN AND SAID WORK NEEDED TO PROCEED ON ALL ISSUES SIMULTANEOUSLY:

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 334575 170052Z

- SECURITY IN AND OUTSIDE RWANDA
- ACCOUNTABILITY FOR ALL/ALL FORMS OF KILLINGS
- RETURN OF REFUGEES FROM ALL ERAS
- BEGINNING RECONCILIATION
- FOSTERING DIALOGUE TO PROMOTE RECONCILIATION
- BROAD-BASED, REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

SNE UNDERSTOOD KAGAME'S FRUSTRATION WITH THE LARGE AMOUNTS OF MONEY COMMITTED TO RELIEF EFFORTS OUTSIDE RWANDA BUT ASSURED HIM THAT WE WERE DOING MORE THAN HE REALIZED INSIDE RWANDA, INCLUDING OVER DOLLARS 70 MILLION IN RELIEF AND REHABILITATION PLUS CONTRIBUTIONS TO MULTILATERAL ORGANIZATIONS PROVIDING ASSISTANCE INSIDE RWANDA.

SECURITY IN THE CAMPS AND ACCOUNTABILITY

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

6. DAS BUSHNELL REVIEWED KAGAME'S POSITION THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY SHOULD NOT BE INTIMIDATED BY THE EX-FAR AND MILITIAS; THAT THESE FORCES CAN BE TAKEN ON AND SEPARATED FROM THE REFUGEES; AND THAT THE ZAIRIANS MUST BE ENGAGED IN THIS EFFORT. A/S MOOSE NOTED THE OBVIOUS RESOURCE CONSTRAINTS AND SAID THAT A SEVERAL-THOUSAND-MAN PEACE ENFORCEMENT MISSION WAS NOT REALISTIC, OR EVEN REQUIRED. THE ELEMENTS FOR A POSSIBLE APPROACH TO THIS PROBLEM WERE ALREADY TAKING SHAPE:

- RESPONSIBLE SUPPORT TO THE ZAIRIAN SECURITY FORCES;
- SOME TEMPORARY POLICE OR CONTRACT GUARD FORCE;

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 334575 170052Z

- A UN PRESENCE OF SOME KIND, MAYBE 2000-3000, O CHANGE THE DYNAMIC AND MAKE CLEAR TO THE EX-FAR AND MILITIAS THAT THEY ARE NOT ALL-POWERFUL.
- THIS ISSUE WILL REQUIRE A GREAT DEAL OF FURTHER DISCUSSION.

7. DAS BUSHNELL NOTED THAT WHEN DISCUSSING OPTIONS FOR ENDING THE INTIMIDATION IN THE CAMPS, THE QUESTION IS INEVITABLY RAISED: WOULD THE REFUGEES COME BACK? KAGAME SAID HE THOUGHT "MOST OF THEM" WOULD COME BACK BUT THAT WE WOULD HAVE TO WAIT AND SEE HOW THINGS DEVELOP. IN HIS VIEW, WE NEED TO TAKE FIRST THINGS FIRST, WITH THE PRIORITY AS FOLLOWS:

- TAKE CONTROL OF THE CAMPS AWAY FROM THE EX-FAR AND MILITIAS AND SEPARATE THEM FROM THE REFUGEES. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HAS AN INDEPENDENT RESPONSIBILITY TO PREVENT ARMED FORCES FROM CONTROLLING THE RELIEF SUPPLIES, REGARDLESS OF WHETHER THIS WILL RESULT IN REFUGEE RETURN. KAGAME SAID WE COULD WORRY LATER ABOUT WHAT TO DO WITH THE FORCES THAT HAVE BEEN SEPARATED OUT.

- WITH THE INTIMIDATION ENDED, THOSE WHO WISH TO RETURN TO RWANDA WILL BE FREE TO DO SO.

- WITH THE GROUPS NOW SEPARATED, IDENTIFY AND DEAL WITH THOSE FEW WHO MUST BE BROUGHT TO JUSTICE. KAGAME CLAIMED THIS WOULD BE EASY BECAUSE SOME HAVE EVEN BOASTED TO THE PRESS OF THEIR INVOLVEMENT IN THE KILLINGS.

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

-- ONCE THE MAIN EVILDOERS ARE IDENTIFIED AND BROUGHT TO
JUSTICE, WE CAN CONSIDER WHAT TO DO ABOUT THE PEASANTS AND
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 06 STATE 334575 170052Z
OTHER LITTLE GUYS WHO WERE FORCED OR INCITED TO KILL.

KAGAME WANTS JUSTICE, NOT RECONCILIATION AT ANY COST

8. A/S MOOSE SAID HE AGREED WITH MUCH OF KAGAME'S
ANALYSIS BUT THAT THE CONVERSE IS ALSO IN SOME SENSE
TRUE: THE UNCERTAINTY OF WAITING UNTIL THE END TO DECIDE
WHAT TO DO WITH THE SMALL FISH WAS A DETERRENT TO REFUGEE
RETURN AND AFFECTED RECONCILIATION; IT WOULD THEREFORE BE
USEFUL TO BETTER DEFINE THE PROCESS OF JUSTICE AND
DIFFERENTIATE AT THE OUTSET BETWEEN THE LEADERS AND THOSE
MERELY CAUGHT UP IN THE VIOLENCE.

1.4(B), 1.4(D)

A/S MOOSE NOTED
THAT THE UN TRIBUNAL AND RWANDA'S COURTS WILL HAVE TO FACE
THE ISSUE OF A PROSECUTION STRATEGY; HE ENCOURAGED KAGAME
TO MEET WITH JUSTICE GOLDSTONE WHEN HE WAS IN NEW YORK.

CONFIDENTIAL

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 07 STATE 334575 170052Z
SECURITY INSIDE RWANDA

10. A/S MOOSE ASKED ABOUT THE CONDITIONS FACED BY
RETURNEES AND THE FATE OF DETAINEES AND THOSE WHO ARE
ARRESTED BUT NEVER MAKE IT TO FORMAL DETENTION SITES.

[REDACTED]

1.4(B), 1.4(D)

THE AID THE GOR SEEKS IS INTENDED TO
HELP IT ADDRESS REPRISALS, DISAPPEARANCES' AND SIMILAR
PROBLEMS. KAGAME NOTED THAT THE RPA HAS ARRESTED MANY OF
THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR REPRISALS, BUT THE GOR HAS NO
JUSTICE SYSTEM TO PROCESS THEM.

[REDACTED]

1.4(B), 1.4(D)

KAGAME SAID LOCAL TRIALS HAD NOT YET STARTED AND THE
JUSTICE MINISTRY HAD NO JUDGES AND A SHORTAGE OF DETENTION
SPACE. A/S MOOSE SAID THE USG WILL TRY TO SOLIDIFY
COMMITMENTS ON JUDICIAL ASSISTANCE AT THE DEC. 16 FRIENDS
OF RWANDA MEETING. WE ALL AGREE THAT THIS ISSUE IS URGENT.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 08 STATE 334575 170052Z

LAND TENURE

12. KAGAME SAID THE GOR HAD MADE CLEAR HAT IT WILL

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

RESPECT PRIVATE PROPERTY OWNERSHIP.

1.4(B), 1.4(D)

13. KAGAME SAID LOCAL ADMINISTRATORS HAVE BEEN RESOLVING THE DISPUTES ON A CASE-BY-CASE BASIS, RETURNING PROPERTY TO THE RIGHTFUL OWNER. THE MOST DIFFICULT CASES ARE REFERRED TO A NATIONAL COMMISSION SET UP BY THE GOR. A/S MOOSE ENCOURAGED THE GOR TO ELABORATE ON THE STRUCTURES NECESSARY TO RESOLVE HESE DISPUTES AND TO PUBLICIZE HOW

THE PROCESS OPERATES SO ALL RWANDANS UNDERSTAND.

GOVERNANCE ISSUES

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 09 STATE 334575 170052Z

14. KAGAME SAID LOCAL PREFECTS WERE CHOSEN FROM VARIOUS POLITICAL PARTIES (NOT THE MRND) REPRESENTED IN THE GOVERNMENT AND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, AND THAT SELECTIONS WERE MADE BY CONSENSUS. AT LOWER LEVELS, LOCAL ADMINISTRATORS WERE OFTEN ELECTED, PARTICULARLY IN AREAS OF STABILITY. DAS BUSHNELL RAISED THE LONG HISTORICAL CONCERN OF A MINORITY CONTROLLING A MAJORITY.

1.4(B), 1.4(D)

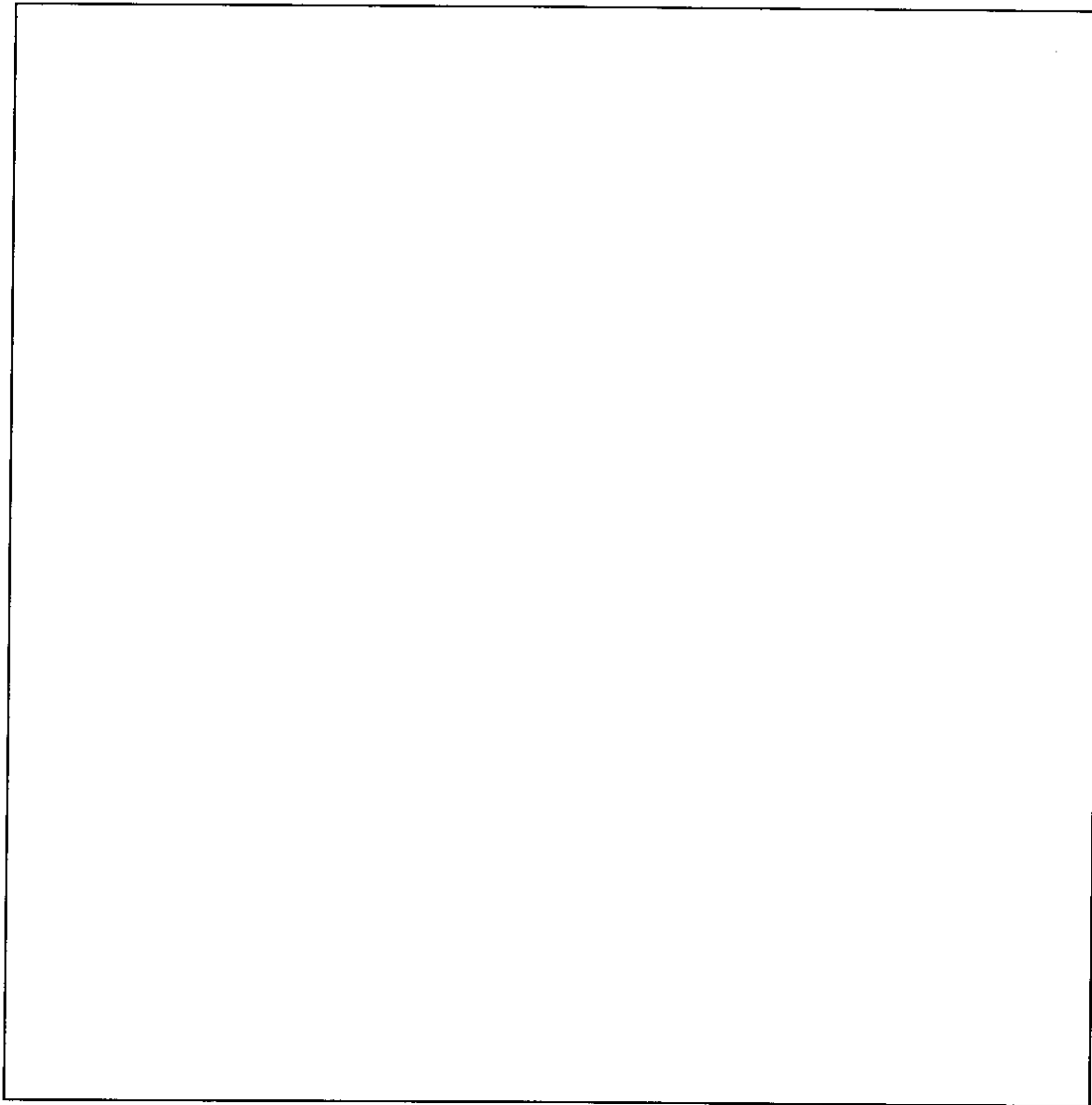
A/S MOOSE AND DAS BUSHNELL SAID WE ARE LOOKING AT THE FOUNDATIONS THAT HAVE BEEN PUT IN

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PLACE; THEY ENCOURAGED THE GOR TO DISCUSS THESE
FOUNDATIONS AND ARTICULATE ITS VISION TO CORRECT ANY
MISPERCEPTIONS.

1.4(D)



16. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. CHRISTOPHER

UNCLASSIFIED